

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A
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SUBJECT: BUNDESTAG ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN BAVARIA: A FINAL EVALUATION

REF: MUNICH 1985

1. SUMMARY: CSU WILL WIN FOMFORTABLE MAJORITY OF VOTES IN BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS HERE, AND LANDSLIKE VICTORY OF 58 PER CENT OR HIGHER IS POSSIBILITY. SPD SEEMS LIKELY TO LOSE AT LEAST SOME OF GROUND IT GAINED IN 1972, WHILE FDP IS LIEKLY TO HOVER AROUND 1972 MARK OF 6.1 PERCENT. LOCKHEED HAS NOT RPT NOT CAUGHT ON AS ISSUE HERE. POLITICIANS OF 3 MAJOR PARTIES BELIEVE FRG-WIDE RACE BETWEEN SPD/FDP AND CDU/CSU WILL BE VERY CLOSE. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESENT EVALUATION IS BASED ON RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH POLTICAL LEADERS IN 5 OF BAVARIA'S 7 GOVERNMENT DISTRICTS. BARRING THE TOTALLY UNFORSEEN, IT SHOULD REMAIN VALID FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REMAINING 8 DAYS OF CAMPAIGN.

3. PARTIES AND THEMES:

A. CSU - "FREEDOM OR SOCIALISM" CONTINUES TO BE MAIN CSU THEME AND STRUASS ITS CHIEF EXPONENT. HE LOSES NO OPPORTUNITY TO STRESS DANGER OF ALLEGEDLY BURGEONING INFLUENCE OF MARXIST SOCIALISTS IN SPD. MINPRESIDENT GOPPEL STRESSES THEMES OF IMPORTANCE OF PRESERVING FEDERALISM FROM ENCROACHMENT BY SPD/FDP GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS COALITION'S ALLEGED DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BAVARIA'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS. INDIVIDUAL CSU BUNDESTAG CANDIDATES CHAMPION SUCH LOCAL ISSUES AS ALLEGEDLY NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF "OSTHANDEL" ON BAVARIAN TEXTILE, CHINA AND GLASS INDUSTRIES IN GDR AND CZECHOSLOVAK BORDER AREAS.

B. SPD - THEME OF "MODEL GERMANY" IS BEING OVERTAKEN BY THEMES "WE UNDERSTAND MORE ABOUT FREEDOM," AND "THE BETTER MAN MUST REMAIN AS CHANCELLOR." SPD CANDIDATES SAY FRG UNDER LEADERSHIP OF SPD/FDP COALITION HAS HANDLED WORLD-WIDE RECESSION BETTER THAN ANY OTHER WESTERN COUNTRY EXCEPT SWEDEN, AND THAT PENSIONS AND SOCIAL BENEFITS ARE MORE SECURE UNDER SPD/FDP GOVERNMENT. SPD IS TOUTED AS PARTY OF PEACE, WHILE STRUASS IS ATTACKED AS A DANGEROUS REACTIONARY.

C. FDP - MEAGERLY FUNDED FDP CAMPAIGN CONTINUES TO EMPHASIZE ACHIEVEMENTS AND PERSONAL QUALITIES OF GENSCHER, FRIEDRICHS, MAIHOFFER AND ERTL AND TO LAMBASTE STRAUSS.

4. EXPECTATIONS.

A. BAVARIA - CSU IS CONFIDENT OF WINNING UPWARDS OF 55 PERCENT OF VOTES, AND SOME CSU POLITICIANS FEEL 60 PERCENT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE. THE MOST OPTIMISTIC SPD POLITICIANS BELIEVE BEST SPD CAN DO IS TO RETAIN 37.8 PERCENT IT RECEIVED IN 1972, BUT OUR BEST SPD SOURCES BELIEVE PARTY WILL DO WELL TO GET 34.6 PERCENT IT RECEIVED IN 1969. FDP PEOPLE SPEAK PUBLICLY OF 8 PERCENT BUT SEEM TO BE THINKING MORE IN TERMS OF 6.5 PERCENT.

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C. FRG-WIDE - EVERY BAVARIAN POLITICIAN WE HAVE TALKED TO BELIEVES ELECTION WILL BE VERY CLOSE AND THAT OUTCOME HINGES ON RUHR. CSU PEOPLE PRAISE BIEDENKOPF FOR CONDUCTING VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN AND SAY NARROW VICTORY WITH 49.5 PERCENT OR 50 PERCENT OF VOTE IS ATTAINABLE. SPD AND FDP EXPRESS CONFIDENCE THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO FORM NEW COALITION, ALBEIT WITH REDUCED MAJORITY. TWO RELATIVELY IMPORTANT CSU POLITICIANS WE SAW SEPTEMBER 21 WERE CAREFUL NOT TO

WRITE OFF OUTSIDE POSSIBILITY OF UNION COALITION WITH
FDP (SPARKED BY EFFORTS OF SCHEEL) IN EVENT OF COMBINED
SPD/FDP MAJORITY PAPER THIN.

5. LOCKHEED - ERKEL TRIP TO US AND HEAVY MEDIA COVERAGE
OF ALLEGED DULLES-STRAUSS LETTER NOTWITHSTANDING, LOCK-
HEED HAS NOT BECOME ISSUE FOR RANK-AND-FILE VOTER HERE.
THERE APPEARS TO BE SOME CONCERN AMONG CSU WARD-HEELERS,
HOWEVER, THAT MATERIAL DEROGATORY TO STRAUSS COULD YET
EMERGE.

6. COMMENT: CONGEN ANTICIPATES CSU LANDSLIKE OF PER-
HAPS 58 PERCENT OF VOTES. SPD WILL NOT NPT NOT DO AS WELL AS
IN 1972 (37.8 PERCENT) AND COULD WELL FALL BELOW 1969 TOTAL
(34.6 PERCENT). FDP, WHICH IS HARDEST TO ESTIMATE, SEEMS
LIKELY TO HOVER AROUND ITS 1972 FIGURE OF 6.1 PERCENT.
BETTS

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